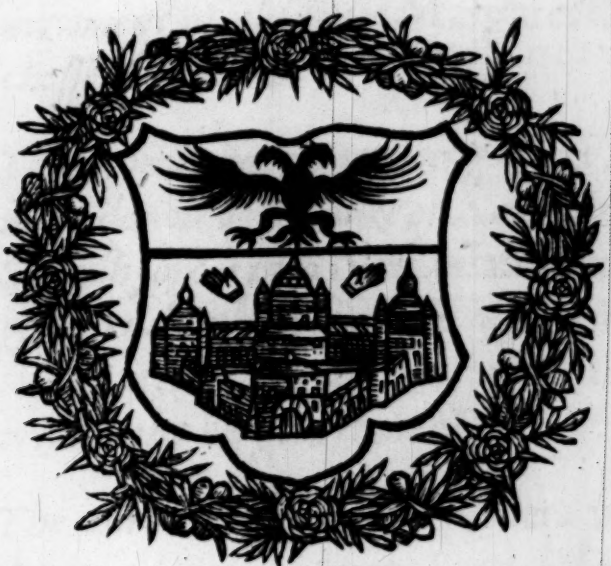
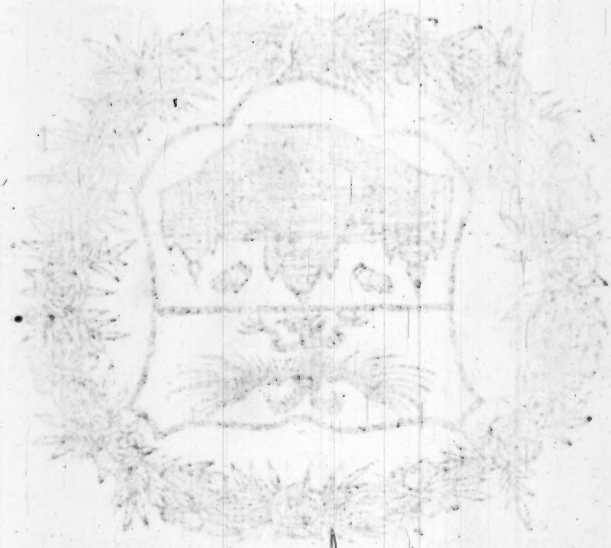
AN HISTORI-CALL DISCOVRSE,

or rather a tragicall Hiſtorie of *the citie of Antwerpe, ſince the* departure of king Phillip king of *Spaine out of Netherland, till* this preſent yeare, 1586.



AT LONDON
Printed by Iohn Windet, dwel-ling *in Adling ſtreet, at the ſigne* of the White Beare, neere *Baynards caſtle.*



The contents of this Hiſtoricall *diſcourſe, or rather tragicall Hi-*ſtorie of Antvverpe, during the *troubles, deuided into ſix* Chapters.

1 *The firſt chapter declaring the proceedings there vnder the regencie and gouernment of the ladie* Margaret *Dutcheſſe of* Parma.

2 *The ſecond chapter treating of the comming downe of the duke of* Alua *with his Spaniſh forces into* Netherland, *and the great euils which the citie of Antwerpe ſuſteined, togither with the whole countrie during his gouernment.*

3 *The third chapter of the* a fuera vellacos *of Antwerpe by the Spaniſh ſouldiars, for want of paie, after the duke of* Aluas *departure vnder the gouernment of* Don Loys *of* Requeſens, *great commendador of* Caſtill.

4 *The fourth chapter, deſcribing the ſacking of* Antvverpe *and diuerſe other good townes by the Spaniſh ſouldiers, for the like want of paie, after the death of the ſaid* Loys *of* Requeſens, *during the gouernement of the kings counſell of Eſtate.*

5 *The fift chapter declaring the inuaſion of the French into* Antvverpe, *and the valiant reſiſtance of the citizens made againſt the ſame.*

6 *The ſixt chapter ſhowing the long and tedious ſiege of* Alexander Farneſe *prince of* Parma, *laid to the citie of Antwerpe, and the yeelding therof at the laſt by famine with all their extreame miſeries euer ſince endured.*

AN HISTORICALL discourse, or rather a tragicall *Historie of Antwerpe during* the troubles.

AFter that king Phillip was giuen to vnderstand, how he was withstood by the states in three things, which he most affectuously desired to bring in, and establish in the lowe countrie, to wit the Spanish Inquisition, the obseruation of the canons of Trent, and the erection of diuerse new bishoprikes, and when he was farther aduertised, how that not onelie the lord Bredrod but other noblemen were confederated and linked together against many his proclamations and ordinances, but also that the populare fell to pulling downe and breaking of images without authoritie & spoiling of churches with ouer great insolencie (which the cardinall Granduell toke hold of, and termed al well in letters to the king as other wise to be seditious attempts, and fruits of the confederation aforesaid, and the beginning of farther euils likely to ensue). After he was aduertised often.

often from thence to remedie with all ſpéd theſe dailie increaſing miſchiefes, leaſt happilie they put in hazard the loſſe of his ſo noble a patrimonie, which the mightie Charles his father made great accompt of, as a principall member of his kingdomes. And finallie after he in déed ſawe that few of his deſſeines in that prouince either in matters of pollicie or furtherance of his religion anſwered anie part of his expectation and hope, he fell into ſuch a ſudden paſſion and griefe, that he reſolued with himſelfe to come downe in his owne perſon with a maine force into thoſe countries, to auenge euerie ſuch contempt of his highneſſe lawes and miſbehauiour committed againſt his maieſtie.

Howbeit afterwards vpon better aduiſe, it was concluded by his councell at Madrill (for there was than the court) that it was neither conuenient nor neceſſarie for his maieſties perſon to take ſo great and dangerous a iourney: not conuenient, bicauſe of other his ſo manie, ſo great, and coniotned kingdoms and dominions, which required his perpetuall preſence: not neceſſarie, for that this fier might be quenched well inough by dint of ſword and martiall authoritie.

For the execution whereof, the Duke of Alua, a prince for martiall proweſſe no leſſe famous, than for militarie diſcipline and ſeuere execution dredfull, was appointed generall. For although the duke of Medina Cæli was in the election, and preferred by diuers of the Spaniſh councell to that mightie charge and honorable function, as being of the kings bloud, and of the houſe of Arragon, and therefore a man of a farre better houſe than the Duke of Alua, being but the ſecond Duke of that name, yet for that the Duke

of

of Aluas long experience (the mistresse of all things) did farre surpasse the other in militarie affaires, as being that person in whom the most victorious emperor Charles the fift reposed most for the counsell of his affaires, and who had serued his maiestie with great honor fiue and thirtie years in his wars, and thereby knew that and manie other countries, and their manner of fight, he was the onelie man thought meet to be sent to set a bridle on Netherland, and to make a conquest of the whole countrie. For to speake indifferentlie, neither religion on the one side, nor the chastisment of rebellion on the other side, was all that was aimed at or sought for of either, but populare factions and inordinate libertie (a pestilent poison to all kingdomes and dominions most to be feared in these our daies) crept in & was nourished in the middest of manie the subiects, and in the Princes heart there was a most feruent desire inflamed, to reduce that prouince to a kingdome. Upon which resolution of the counsell, the king sent for the said Duke, made him gouernour of Netherland, willed him to put himselfe in a readinesse and to prepare all things requisit for such a iourneie.

And whiles the duke of Alua was in preparation for the warres in Spaine, the king wrote to the Duke Perafan de Ribera viceroie of Naples, to send out of hand the old souldiers of Lombardie, & likewise to Charles of Arragō Duke of Terra noua, viceroie of Sicilie, to send with speed the footmen of that kingdome into the same place, and he sent order withall to Don Gabriell de la cueua Duke of Albuquerque (in Andelozia) gouernour of the state of Millaine, that

he

he ſhould receiue all thoſe ſouldiers which ſhould come from Naples and Sicely, and farther leaue a power within the ſtate of Millain of the beſt and cheefeſt ſouldiors there, and haue them in readineſſe againſt the comming of the Duke of Alua, to the intent he then mought take view and muſter of the whole armie, and without farther loſſe of time diſpatche them with ſpæde into the lowe countries.

Moreouer the king wrote a ſharpe letter to the Ladie Regent his deare ſiſter, and other his cheefe counſellors at Brüſſels, ſignifying therby vnto them how much he was græued with the inſolencies of his people, and diſorder of thoſe countries, ſtreictlie commaunding in expreſſe termes the decræs of Charles his father, with thoſe of Trent without farther daliance, preſentlie to be put in execution.

Theſe newes being divulged of the kings deepe diſpleaſure, and of the cruell warres in preparation and moſt like to enſue, there was a maruellous feare ſtroken in the hearts of the people, ſo that euerie of them began to prouide for his owne ſafetie. Thoſe that toke vnto them the name of catholiks, bare themſelues verie much of the Ladie Regent. They of the reformed religion ſhrowded themſelues vnder the protection of the Lord Bredrod and other of the lords confedered. And yet this was done with ſuch feare and miſtruſtfulneſſe, that the one put ſmall affiance in the other, the like whereof was to be ſeene alſo amongſt the lords of the confederation, wherof a number gaue ouer to ſtand for the exercise of religion, contenting themſelues onelie to haue liberte of conſcience granted vnto them,

and

and in that point onelie to be freed from the inquisition. Whereupon the protestants of Antwerpe seeing the prosperitie and aduancement of the catholiks at the Regent, and most of the counsels hands, and their owne declining and abasement, by means that some of the Nobilitie were in a manner fallen from them, thought good to make an especiall suite and supplication to the kings maiestie on their particular behalfes, with an offer of so large a present vpon the grant of their petition, that they could not mistrust but that the same would be fauorablie hard and receiue good successe.

In the which supplication, amongst other things they assured his Maiestie, that although their ministers in their publike sermons did preach against idolatrie as a crime most horrible in the sight of God, yet withall they did exhort the people to all modestie, dutifull reuerence, and humble obedience to his highnesse and the magistrats, and admonished them to conteine themselues within the bounds of their vocation, without vsurping of the said magistrates office, by thrusting themselues forward, in pulling downe of images and such like, and farther they said that such as had beene the authors of that or of anie other enormitie (wherewith in generall vnworthilie they were charged) were of the popular and baser sort, partlie carried awaie with an ouer hot and vndiscreet zeale, and partlie hauing some wicked and dissolute parsons, that did intrude themselues among them in their assemblies, more to spoile and pilfer, than for anie feeling they had within them of anie godlinesse or sound religion, and therefore in the conscience of their good meaning herein, they protested that it was greeuous for

them to ſee the vnrulineſſe of the people, whome in ſome ſort they did therefore puniſh, but much more to heare that the Prince was ſo ſore offended with them, that he would enter the countrie with force of armes (as it was ſaid) to root them out as well the one as the other, and bereaue the remnant that ſhould eſcape with life from all exerciſe of their religion, wherein they proteſted as before the liuing and eternall God, that they had none other intention and meaning, but to liue and die in the doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles conteined within the old and new Teſtament, and ſummarilie compriſed in the creed of the ſaid Apoſtles, and all the councels agreeing with the word of GOD, ſubmitting themſelues beſides to whatſoeuer ſhould be determined and ordeined by a free and generall counſell at anie time thereafter. Moſt humblie beſeeching his maieſtie to conſider, that religion being once rooted and faſtened into the heart of man, is not by threats or dureſſe ſo ſone plucked forth, for ſeeing the point ſtandeth vpon the ſaluation and condemnation of their ſoules, it is not ſo eaſie a matter to change and alter it by forces of armes, but rather a meane to induce ſome timerous and weake ſoules to diſſemble their faith, and thereby in time to come to become Atheiſts and Libertines, a people of no religion, at whoſe hands neither fidelitie to God, nor yet loialtie to their Prince, nor plaine dealing with their neighbours, were euer to be looked for.

And leaſt his moſt excellent maieſtie ſhould thinke their requeſt to be ſtrange, or exorbitant from the rule of reaſon, or void of the like practiſe and auncient preſidents, they auouched how the mightie

mightie kings of Ægypt, Persia, and Babilon, suffered the Iewes to haue the vse of their religion, and likewise the Iewes suffered three religions in Iewrie, Phariseis, Saduceis, and Esseis, and not this onelie, but since Christ his time they alledged a number of examples and graunts from great emperors and mightie princes, as of Alexander Seuerus, who although he were an Heathen and Idolater, yet he gaue licence to the Christians (whome he toke to be Heretiks) to haue churches in Rome, being the cheefe citie within all his dominions and countries.

And in like manner, the emperour Constantine licenced the Christians to haue certeine publike meetings, like as the Heathen had their temples, and thereby his great wisedome staied an infinit number of quarrels and apparant effusion of bloud, ruled his empire peaceablie, his roiall authoritie prospered, and he dailie increased.

And if anie man should put into his maiesties head, that it was an other thing to suffer Christians to haue exercise of their religion than Heretiks (as pleased some to esteeme of them) they offered to make good and euident proofe whensoeuer it should please his maiestie to giue them indifferent and free audience, that their praiers, preachings and exercise of religion, did perfectlie shew them to be Christians & not heretiks, but if they were as notable heretiks as the Iewes, Arrians, & Nouacians, yet the Pope (who saith he cannot erre) doth suffer the Iewes to haue synagogs and exercise of their religion within his owne citie of Rome and other places vnder his subiection.

And besides all this, the example of the catholiks, and most discreet emperours, who granted seuerall churches to the Arrians and Nouacians, may be a great quieting and direction to his conscience.

Last of all they put the example of his maiesties father, of most worthie and famous memorie Charles the fift before his eies, who by the aduise of the States of the Empire, granted the like to the protestants in Germanie, and the French king following his worthie example, and likewise the king of Poland in his kingdome, and likewise the two mightie emperors Ferdinand his deare vncle, and Maximilian his cosen germaine did grant the same libertie to their subiects in the kingdome of Bohem and great states of Morauia and Silesia therevnto belonging, wherein if they mought receiue the like grace and fauour at his maiesties hands, he should not onelie excite in those his most faithfull subiects and vassals, as it were a new homage in ratefieng their former oath and fidelitie, but also inflame their hearts to diuote and consecrate both their goods and bodies in his seruice, as an euident proofe whereof they offered to giue his maiestie at the daie of the said fauour and grace, ouer and aboue the imposts, customes, and other extraordinarie contributions whatsoeuer, the summe of three millions of Florens.

Humblie beseeching his maiestie to take well in worth this offer and small present at his most humble and obedient subiects hands, proceeding from such duetifull hearts, as desired nothing els but the establishment of Gods seruice, and his maiesties, with the prosperitie and quiet of his countries, and great increase and aduancement of his crowne and digni-

dignitie.

But the king nothing moued either by their humble requeſt or liberall offers, purpoſed with himſelfe by maine force to effect his deſires, and by dint of ſword to inforce that which by a milder kind of gouernement he could not entreat, and therefore he gaue them for anſwer, being egged and ſharpened therevnto by ſundrie of his counſell, deuoted catholiks, and other his valorous but hungrie ſubiects, who long before had deuoured in their minds the whole wealth of that countrie, that it was vnfitting his roiall maieſtie to be ruled by his ſubiects, and not to rule, nor yet beſeeming for them, maugre their Prince, to erect a new forme of religion in his kingdoms, wherein if he ſhould grant their deſires, he ſawe none other good likelie to enſue, but the hazard of their ſoules, the greefe of the catholiks, the contempt of his faith, and the mother church, and that which he mought iuſtlie coniecture with a new religion to haue a new Lord, and howbeit a Prince is not alwaies bound to giue a reaſon of his actions, nor to enterchange words with malecontented ſubiects, yet that they mought ſee his affection herein, and how much for their ſakes he did abaſe himſelfe, he ſhewed the inconſequence of their reaſons, which rather ſerued to dazell childrẽ, than to informe the conſciences of men, for be it that the Kings of Ægypt. Perſia, and Babilon, ſuffered the Iewes, that Seuerus and Conſtantine the Gentils, and other Emperors, as Charles, Ferdinand, and Maximilian, Heretikes to haue their ſeuerall profeſſions in their kingdomes, yet theſe examples proue that they ſuffered, but that they did well in ſuffering theſe, they proue not: for what outrage is there

now

now committed, the like whereof by former example may not be ſhewed, therefore not in example of men, but in reaſon of law, nor in that which is done, but in that which ought to be doone, lieth and conſiſteth the whole queſtion.

And if it was lawfull for thoſe Princes vpon ſome worldlie reſpect, to giue a toleration to Iewes, Gentils, and Heretiks, that they might thereby increaſe their treaſures, redéeme their quiet, or that they were not able at the preſent to bridle and ſubdue them, how much more lawfull ſhall it be for him whome no worldlie reſpect, but the conſcience of the thing, remembrance of his dutie, deſire of their good, euen to the hazard of his quiet eſtate, and great expenſe, dooth enforce to commaund them, eſpeciallie ſince he is therevnto incited by ſo manie liuelie preſidents, weight of reaſon, and authoritie of the church.

Did not king Ioſua cauſe all Iuda and Beniemin to make a couenant with God, and compell euerie perſon in Iſrael to ſerue the Lord? Did not Conſtantine the great decrée, that all temples of Heretiks ſhould be ouerthrowne, and that in place publike or priuat, the aſſemblies ſhould not be ſuffered? Did not Gratian, Theodoſius, Arcadius, Honorius and Valentinian, all Chriſtian and good emperors, make expreſſe conſtitutions, thereby to debarre all conuenticles and particular aſſemblies of all ſort of Heretikes, commanding all hereſies to kéepe ſilence, being forbid by Gods law and mans? and not without reaſon, for when GOD muſt be worſhipped alone, and in ſuch ſort too as he hath preſcribed, than muſt ſubiects either accuſe the Prince of great impietie and diſhonor vnto God, or

other-

otherwise confesse that he dooth but a dutie in enforcing them so to worship God as they should, and farther he said, that he did not commaund a faith which they and their fathers did not know, or man had forged in the shop of his owne braine, but that which their fathers beléeued, & to the which euerie of them were baptized, which their mother church counselleth them to receiue, and which he was sworne by them amongst them to defend, euen that did he intreat, and by authoritie commaund. And if neither entreatie nor authoritie can persuade, than that which it grœued him to do, and the euils wherof they may impute vnto themselues, he would breake that which he could not bend, and would enforce that in them which by other means he could not obteine. Neither was it the great masse of mony that he would, which they so liberallie promised in a brauerie, the rather to brag of their wealth, and to allure other Princes to take their parts, but obedience to his lawes, & care of the estate the which their great wealth had made them to forget.

The ſecond chapter, conteining *the comming of the duke of Alua* vvith his Spaniſh forces into Nether-*land, and the great euils which the* citie of Antwerpe ſuſteined, togi-*ther with the whole countrie,* during his gouernment.

NOw Ferdinand Aluares of Toledo, duke of Alua, lieutenant generall of the lowe countrie, departed from the court at Madrill to Barcelona, accompanied with his two ſonnes, Frederike of Toledo prior of ſaint Iohn, and Ferdinand of Toledo, with manie other valiant Gentlemen and expert capteines of Spaine, where imbarking himſelfe, he arriued at Genua, in the middeſt of Maie 1567, and there conſtreined ſome few daies to repoſe himſelfe, by reaſõ of a tertian ague (which the ſeas had giuen him) he thence preſentlie depeached a meſſenger to giue notice to the ſaid duke Albuquerque, gouernour of the ſtate of Millaine, of his arriuall, with commaundement from the king, and requeſt from himſelfe, to take ſpeedie order with his other capteins and prepared armie, to go in the appointed voiage.

Vpon the aduertiſement wherof, the ſaid gouernour gaue commaundement preſentlie, that aſwell the capteine Spaniards, as thoſe in Millaine and other

otherwise confesse, that he doth but a dutie in enforcing them so to worship God as they should, and farther he said, that he did not cõmaund a faith which they & their fathers did not know, or man had forged in the shop of his owne braine, but that which their fathers beléeued, and into which euerie of them were baptized, which their mother church counselleth them to receiue, and which he was sworne by them amongst them to defend, euen that did he intreat, & by authoritie commaund. And if neither intreatie nor authoritie can persuade, than that (which it gréeued him to do, and the euils whereof they may impute vnto themselues) he would breake that which he could not bend, and would enforce that in them which by other meanes he could not obteine. Neither was it the great masse of monie that hee would, which they so liberallie promised in a braucrie, the rather to bragge of their wealth, and to allure other Princes to take their parts, but obedience to his lawes, and care of their estate, the which their great wealth had made them to forget.

When the kings pleasure was knowne and his said letters published, euerie of the reformed prouided for himselfe, & that not without great cause, for neither they that were alreadie in prison, escaped present condemnation and death, nor they that were abroad, especially such as were destroiers of images, or spoilers of churches escaped hanging, nor any of thē that were at the exercise of ỳ religiõ reformed, were reputed otherwise than rebels to their prince. Whereupon a great number of them that were faint in hart, but strong in faith, entred with their wiues and children into voluntarie exile, reckoning that aduersitie to be a preparatiue to felicitie, other that were of a bolder courage, and by nature more hardie, gathered their spirits togither with the Lord of Tolosa, father

vnto the now Phillip Merinx Lord of Aldegond, who leauied men of warre at Oeſterwell, within a mile of Antwerpe, in behalfe of the proteſtants, which increaſed in a ſhort time to the number of fifténe hundred: but by foure hundred footemen and fiue hundred horſſemen, ſent with great ſpéd from the Ladie Regent, vnder the conduct of Mounſieur de Beauois, and Le Mote, and of Hans Graue Droſſart, that is the Marſhall of Brabant, they were ſet vpon, and ſlaine or taken, and one eſpeciall man taken priſoner amongſt the reſt, which had a ſcrowle of all their names that ſubſcribed to the confederacie, by reaſon whereof they came to the knowledge of manie ſecret purpoſes, which turned much vnto manie of their harmes.

At what time there fell a dangerous tumult and ſedition within the towne of Antwerpe, whileſt the proteſtants deſirous to iſſue forth, to reſcue the Lord of Toloſo, were yet by the great policie of the Prince of Orange and other the magiſtrates of Antwerpe reſtrained, the which violent furie of the citizens was no ſoner quieted, but forthwith they were deuided into thrée ſeuerall factions: that is, of Papiſts, Martiniſts, and Caluiniſts, euerie one inuading ſeuerall ſtréets, and the largeſt places within the citie, and all furniſhed with great and ſmall artillerie, the papiſts there tearmed themſelues catholiks, ioining at the laſt with the Martiniſts, were readie to encounter, and to plant their artillerie againſt them of the reformed religion, by them called Caluiniſts, inſomuch that there was none other likelihood to enſue, but a wonderfull great effuſion of bloud, had not the Prince of Orange, the countéſſe of Hoogſtrat, and the Bourgmaiſters, with their great wiſedomes, and continuall interceſſions, miraculouſlie ſtaied and calmed their furie.

Shortlie

Shortlie after, to wit, the one and twentith of Aprill 1567, the Prince of Orange departed Antwerpe, for perceiuing partlie the kings resolution, & that he could not so preuaile with this vnrulie multitude as he would, partlie also knowing that the warlike erle of Egmond, with the most of the Nobilitie and men of war, were wone by the ladie Regent, from the confedered, to stand wholie for the king, the Prince carieng still with him the constancie & courage of a resolute mind, thought best to retire himselfe into Germanie into his owne native countrie of Nassau, after whose departure within fiue daies the earle of Maunsfield appointed by the Regent gouernor of the towne, entred the citie with an hundred horsemen, and vij. ensignes of footmen.

Thus by the space of vij. yeares (for so long was it from the time that the inquisitors had a kind of proceeding allowed them at Brussels, to the departure of the dutchesse of Parma out of the low countrie) this noble citie hath neuer bene more or lesse without sifting and pryeng into mens consciences, by means of the inquisition, nor without continuall and excessiue exactions by occasion of daily troubles, nor without imminent danger of effusion of bloud, by meanes of diuersities of religion, one citizen taking part against an other, so that for commerce of merchants, there succeeded oftentimes bands of soldiors, for neighbourlie concord, continuall contention, and for execution of the nocent persecution of the innocent, but yet these are nothing (good Reader) being all laied togither to one daies calamitie and miserie that they after susteined, and that not once or twise, but sundrie and at manie times.

The ſecond chapter, conteining *the comming of the duke of Alua* with the Spaniſh forces into Nether-*land, and the great euils which the* citie of Antwerpe ſuſteined, togi-*ther with the whole countrie,* during his gouernment.

NOw Ferdinand Aluares of Toledo, duke of Alua, lieutenant generall of the lowe countrie, departed from the court at Madrill to Barcelona, accompanied with his two ſonnes, Frederike of Toledo prior of ſaint Iohn, and Ferdinand of Toledo, with manie other valiant Gentlemen and expert capteines of Spaine, where imbarking himſelfe, he arriued at Genua, in the middeſt of Maie 1567, and there conſtreined ſome few daies to repoſe himſelfe, by reaſon of a tertian ague (which the ſeas had giuen him) he thence preſentlie depeached a meſſenger to giue notice to the ſaid duke Albuquerque, gouernour of the ſtate of Millaine, of his arriuall, with commaundement from the king, & requeſt from him ſelfe, to take ſpeedie order with his other capteines and prepared armie, to go in the appointed voiage.

Upon the aduertiſement wherof, the ſaid gouernour gaue commaundement preſentlie, that aſwell the capteine Spaniards, as thoſe in Millaine and other

other that were in the garrisons, and the maisters of the campes of the Regiment and Tertios of Naples, Sicelie, and Sardinia, should marche as well footmen as horsmen, towards Alexandria de la Palla (which is within the state of Millaine) and to the citie of Ast (in Latin *Asta*) in Lombardie.

And now the duke of Alua being recouered of his ague, departed from Genua to Ast aforesaid, where being visited a new with a recidiuation, was faine there to staie, till he had regathered his strength, which greeued not a little Prince Emmanuell Philebert duke of Sauoye, that longed for his comming, and had prouided seauen thousand men in a readinesse, to haue surprised, by the Duke of Aluas good helpe, the citie of Geneua, as to the which of a long time he made some title.

This armie being all come togither, was of nine thousand footmen, all Spaniards and Italians, and seauen thousand Saboians, and one thousand light horsemen, besides men of armes so well appointed, and disciplined in feats of warre, as seldome hath beene heard of the better, howbeit the seuē thousand Saboians came not at all into Netherland, either bicause the duke had men inough besides, or bicause by Gods prouidence the cause ceased, for the which principallie they were leuied.

From Ast the duke being throughlie recouered, past by Feliciano, (a place within the state of Millaine, betweene Ast and Alexandria) and there mustered his armie, where hee had sixteene thousande as aforesaid, and foure hundred barbed horsses of Spanish and Italians, besides a great number of aduenturers that followed him.

And thence with Senior Vitelli (which the duke

of Florins ſent him with a verie honorable charge) and with Gabriell Cerbellione, capteine of the artillarie, and with manie iollie Lords and Gentlemen Italians, he paſſed by Turin (in Latine *Taurinum*) and comming to Pogeren, he was there receiued with great ioie by the duke of Sauoy, who with his ſeauen thouſand men, cauſed him to be ſafelie conducted throughout all his eſtate.

And there likewiſe his ingenier Pachiotto met him, which the king had ſent to deuiſe models of fortreſſes and caſtels as ſhould néed, ſo that in the beginning of Julie, he ſet forth his armie thenſe marching in good order of battell, coaſting ſomewhat towards Geneua, either to put them in ielouſie, or as it was iudged by moſt men, that he fullie purpoſed for the ſaid duke, coolen Germaine to the king his Lord and maiſter, to haue ſurpriſed the ſaid Towne by the waie, had he not perfectlie vnderſtood that they were too well prouided for him, and that the Swicers were in a good readineſſe to defend them againſt anie that ſhould aſſaile their citie, therefore he paſſed twentie miles wide from Geneua, and ſo came they ſtreightwaie by Burgondie into Luxenburge, where he did put in pay the countie Albert of Lodron, with three thouſand Almains, and fiue hundred horſſe, and came downe to the courtlie citie of Bruſſels. Where the Ladie Margaret Regent and gouerneſſe (for ſhe was not yet reuoked) did vnfold to the duke the whole ſtate of Netherland, recounting from hir firſt comming vnto the gouernment all that was paſt.

And as ſhe trauelled by all gentle meanes ſhée could, during hir Regencie to appeaſe the rebellious and popular vprores, ſo ſhe aduiſed the ſaid

duke

duke (which was no lesse hated then feared) entring the countrie in such a [illegible]eadfull manner, in all milde and gentle sort to intreat them, as who were of nature verie plaine and tractable, and herein aboue other to haue a speciall regard to the Prince of Orange, who as she thought, might with gentle handling be brought to desist from armes, and turne to the seruice of his maiestie.

But when the duke heard what the Ladie had spoken, and considered withall, that the Prince was fled to make frends in high Almaine, he lodged his armie partlie in Antwerpe, partlie in Brussels, and in other places neere at hand, within thirtie English miles at the farthest, so that within two daies, vpon anie vrgent occasion, they might assemble themselues and come all togither, and into these places which he stood in iealousie of, or suspected would rebell, he put in garrison a good number, as well of his footmen as horssemen, with streight commaundement giuen by him in the kings name to receiue them.

And to the intent he might winne some fauour with the people, and by sweetened words beguile their open and sone deceiued natures, he gaue out at the first, that the king had giuen them his most gratious and generall pardon for all that was past, which was to them not as he did call it Pardona, but Paudora, the mother of all their miseries, for by these means he entered the more easilie into the possession of diuerse strong townes and fortresses, furnishing them incontinent with his Spanish soldiors, and making them townes of warre of townes of marchandise.

And being thus setled in the countrie, he caused

the commiſſions of the inquiſition to be proclaimed, and a new counſell of twelue counſellors called by him the counſell of troubles, but by the Dutchmen (Bloudraet) that is the councell of bloud to be erected and eſtabliſhed.

Moreouer knowing that the chéefe townes of Bruſſels, Gaunt, and Antwerpe, would not like of his procédings, hee toke the keyes of the Towne and Palace of Bruſſels, and gaue them to Alonzo de vlloa, maiſter of his campe, with a reguinent of Spaniardes of the Tertio of Naples to gard the ſame. Next after that he commaunded the Lordes and citizens of Gaunte to deliuer the keyes of their citie, and alſo the citadell it ſelfe into the handes of Colonell Alfonſo, and to receiue into the citadell aforeſaide two companies of Spaniards of the regiment or tertio of Naples, which they toke to the vſe of his Maieſtie.

Thus when he had accompliſhed his deſires, he departed from Bruſſels to Antwerpe, taking with him Chiapin Vitelli, and capteine Pachiotto two Italian ingeniers, in theſe our daies moſt renowmed, giuing them in charge to erect there a citadell after the new and beſt order of fortification, with fiue verie great and vnbatterable Bulwarkes, for the better ſtrength of the ſame. And in a Spaniſh brauerie for to get himſelfe a name, he gaue to the ſaid fiue Bulwarkes fiue ſeuerall names: To the firſt Duke, to the ſecond Toledo, to the third Ferdinand, to the fourth Toletan, and one which was the fift, in honour of his maiſter workeman Pachiotto.

This

This castell conteined two thousand foure hundred pases gemetricall, the verie foundation whereof cost foure and twentie thousand French crownes, the erecting of which citadell, as it could not be but greeuous to the citizens, being made of purpose to bridle their citie: so this was more greeuous, that they were inforced to defraye towardes the charges of these buildings (which GOD wot they would not, naye for the wante of which they would haue giuen manie a thousand pound) no lesse a summe than foure hundred thousand Florence, and farther at their owne charge, to furnishe for the souldiours and capteines in the castell two thousand foure hundred beds, with all manner of prouision conuenient for the same, but this of all other stroke them to the heart, when they sawe their artillerie prouided for the defense of their citie, carried into the castell, the greater ordinance planted and bent againste them, and a regiment of foure thousand souldiours which should haue beene their guarde to preserue them, but as they then coniectured, and it afterward prooued, they became woolues to deuoure them.

Ouer and besides, in the middest of the said castell, the said Duke caused a victorious and triumphant Image of himselfe to be made, cast of the copper of the artillarie which he toke from his enimies, and the same to be raised vpon a pedestall of marble beautified with manie goodlie figures, vnder whose feete there was a bodie portraited

with two heads, the faces being couered, and with ſix hands, repreſenting therein the chéefe gouernour of the Gueux, or as ſome did afterwards interpret, either the ſtates of the countrie, or the two counties Egmond and Horne, which in this Image he gloried that he had ſubdued.

But Requeſenius the great commendador of Caſtill (who ſucceéded him in the gouernment of the whole countrie) ſéeing this but a poore victorie to make ſo great a triumph, did at the requeſt of the citizens, cauſe this trophée to be taken awaie, as afterwards it was likewiſe ordered by an expreſſe article of the pacification of Gaunt, that all pillers, trophes, inſcriptions, and other monuments, which the duke of Alua had cauſed there to be ſet vp, to the diſhonour and diſgrace of their Nobilitie to be vterlie defaced and ouerthrowne.

And as the duke did for his owne aduauncement and perpetuall memorie, ſet vp the ſaid grauen image in copper of himſelfe, ſo did he for the abaſing of the citie of Antwerpe, pull downe the higheſt and ſtrongeſt towre within the towne, called Croneburge (in Latine *Arx corone*) the onelie monument of antiquitie, and the cheefeſt portrait of the Marquiſite of the holie empire, chalenged by them in the proper and peculiar right of the citie, the ouerthrow of which Towre was a throwd aboding of the ſequell of his actions, and their euils which after enſued.

After he had in this manner aſſured himſelfe of Bruſſels, Gaunt, and Antwerpe, and maſtred with his garriſons all other townes vehementlie ſuſpected, than he plaied Atreus part outright: ſaieng, *Oderint dum metuant*, let them hate me as long as they

they feare me, causing the said counties of Egmond and Horne, with both their secretaries, and twenty Noblemen, and Gentlemen moe, little suspecting anie such matter to be taken as parties in the confederation and league, with the Prince of Orange, the cheefe wherof were carried to Gaunt, and there garded, with three thousand Spaniards, seizing at the same time on all their lands, liuelihoods and possessions.

In like maner did he confiscate other mens goods and sought to be reuenged of all those that before his time had either in religion shewne themselues forward, or anie waie inclined to the fauour of the prince of Orange, which no lesse sudden than strãge manner of dealing, stroke such a terror into euerie mans heart, that an infinit number of marchants, and of the wealthiest citizens, departed foorth of Antwerp, some into Germany, some into England, and out of euerie other towne some, to the number of thirtie thousand persons, taking with them such short ends as they could, leauing their lands and inheritance to the wide world.

Not content with this, the duke of Alua published an edict both in Brussels, Antwerpe, and in all other great townes, vpon paine of their liues, and confiscation of their goods, that euerie person inhabiting within Netherland, should keepe & obserue the Romish Catholike religion, and that they might be as sheepe without dogges betraied into Wolues disharted and dismaied, he commanded them in euerie citie and Towne, to bring in all their armour and weapons, and leaue them at the Gouernours house.

The which proceedings, as they were odious

to

to the people, so they did not a little disquiet the duches, as whose whole course of gouernment was in a far milder sort, so that seeing the Duke did vsurpe vpon hir authoritie and that he made no accompt of such ordinances, as had beene afore published by hir Highnesse, seeing also that he ruled all at his pleasure and she serued as a sypher rather than to anie other purpose, she sent hir secretarie to the King, that with his good leaue and fauour she might returne into Italie to the Duke Octauius hir husband.

Which request the King did not onelie graunt with great thankes for hir good and wise gouernement, but also gaue in reward of hir paines thirtie thousand crownes, and also foureteene thousand crownes more in an annuall rent to hir & hir heires for euer. After this she resigned vp hir gouernement to the Duke his Maiesties capteine generall, and returned into her countrie in Aprill 1568.

After whose departure the Duke of Alua forthwith published in Brussels and Antwerpe his commission giuen him from the King of a farre greater authoritie, than that which was giuen to the Ladie Margaret, for the King made the Duke capteine generall, with authoritie to enter into all the castels within the Kings countries, and there to place and displace all gouernours, captens and other officers at his will and pleasure, to call the treasorers and maisters of the finances to accompts, and to chose and appoint generals of the Prouinces such as he best fansied.

The which grieued the Lords and all the Prouinces verie much, for than notwithstanding the great and generall pardon published at Brussels by

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the Duke at his first arriuall, a fresh he began to proceed against euerie such person, the which vnder the regencie of the Ladie Margaret were either suspected to take part against the King, or touched with any criminall mater:

Than was apprehended Mounsieur Stralen generall treasorer of the States and Burgemaster of Antwerpe, of whose goods he caused the countie Lodron & other the magistrates of Antwerpe to take an Inuentarie, and than were taken and imprisoned thirtie of the chiefest citizens in Antwerpe, and shortlie after three and thirtie more, bicause their letters were found with the Countie of Egmonds secretarie.

The like was practised at Gaunt, Tourney, Mechlin and other places, vpon which rigorous and vnfaithfull dealings of the Duke contrarie to his proclamations before made, manie againe left their natiue countrie, and all their goods and liuelihods they their enioyed. Amongst which was Charles of Manusfield Colonell of ten enlignes, the Lord of Tamburgh, the Lord Cierly Baron of Hesdum, the maister of the Countie of Egmonds horse, the steward of his house, and fortie whole families of great worship, besides many thousand of the popular and meaner sort.

And yet he was not this satisfied, but published by proclamation that euerie such person that had departed his countrie, should by a daie prefixed returne, or forfeit to the King what soeuer goods and inheritance he there inioyed.

Thus did he glut himself with the spoils of them that came not, and they that came (as there came manie) were for the most part by his holie inquisi-

tion (as it pleaſed them to terme it) either drowned in the water, fired at a ſtake, or ſtrangled with an halter, and than were their children before baptized by other, againe rebaptized by them, & their wiues before married by other, againe remarried by them as though the former baptiſme were no baptiſme, the former marriage no marriage, and as though they were but fornicators before, and their children but a baſtards brode.

And to leaue nothing vnperfit, vnderſtanding of the great fauours and power that the Prince of Orange and his brother the Countie Lodowike had obteined in high Almane, eſpeciallie of the duke of Saxon, and Countie Palatine electors of the empire, the duke Caſsimer, the duke Bipontine, and diuerſe other princes and potentats, he did than cauſe the ſaid prince Lodowike his brother, and the king of Herolds called Arne or Toiſon dor, that is the golden fleeſe, and as manie as he had learned to be in league and confederation with them, to be ſummoned by proclamation to come in by a daie and to make their appearance before him, and although none of any accompt appeared, yet for all that he continued in his intended courſe and ſo proceeded in iudgement againſt them, degrading the Prince, depriuing him of his goods, and condemning him to death.

Now that he might appeare in his bloudie colors and detect to other his long conceiued cruelties, not to ſpeake of the two floures of chiualrie Egmond and Horne, nor their ſeruants, whereof one was torne in peeces with foure wild horſes, other by ſtraunge tortures yelded vp their liues. Commit the two ſonnes of the countie of Batenberg, and

eightéene

eightéene other gentlemen of great accompt, and whole troupes brought to execution in Brussels and Gaunt, to ouerpasse Mounsieur Montigni brother to the countie of Horne ambassadour Rhenard and the Lord Vanderuese beheaded in Spaine, the noble Marques of Barroe who died there in prison in the citie of Antwerpe, and that in one daie were hanged thirtie of the best and wealthiest citizens, and euer and anon some one or other put to death, so that in fewe moneths there were butchered by these meanes to the number of seuentéene hundred persons.

Thus hauing glutted himselfe with the bloud of this people, and thorough his extréme cruelties wrought a dreadfull terrour of himselfe in their hearts, he than againe published the inquisition, and they durst not but obey, and howbeit in secrét they practised to shake of his yoke, and by infamous libels to bring him and his whole nation in hatred with the people: yet there was no open resistance, no standing for religion, no speach of their priuileges but a generall contentment although inforced against their will.

Thus was this people daunted and without heart, so that the Duke hauing lost in a plaine forfeit to the countie Palatine of Rhene, for default of paying custome a great masse of monie, that should haue béene conueied vnto him from the king of Spaine, he proposed not onelie to them but also to the whole countrie a most rigorous demaũd, which without deniall he would haue had satisfied.

And that was, that they should pay the tenth penie of all the moueables which were sold, the twentith penie of all their immoueables, the hundred in

the iuſt value of all their goods moueable and vnmoueable, the laſt of which not long before they had paied vnto the king.

These moſt grieuous and dailie exactions, the one falling on the others necke grieued the citizens, as which were likelie in a ſhort time to wreſt from them their whole welth and greatlie to impouerish their eſtates, bicauſe that ſtrangers by whom grew the chiefeſt of their wealth for the exceſſiue tollage they were bound to pay, would leaue their countrie and commerce elſe where with other nations, in which their troubles this was their comfort in patience to indure that they could not remedie, and to wiſh well to them that were now in armes for the liberties of their countrie.

Thus the citie of Antwerpe ouerpaſſing fewe weekes without manie wofull ſpectacles of the Spaniſh furie, hauing ſundrie their neighbors and frends and they of the wealthieſt, ſome flaming in the fire, ſome hanging on gibbets, & ſome after manie tortures put to death, ſeing the goods of their kinſmen ſeized for the king, and them exiled into forren countries, wanting the comfort of their old acquaintance, and in the middeſt of their euils ſtill in feare of greater miſhaps, mourning and melting ouer their wiues and children, as whom they could not keepe from the inſolencie of the ſouldiers. And to conclude hauing their citie not frequented as before, but abandoned of ſtraungers and their riches waſted, with manie great and vnſufferable exactions, garded with wolues, and diſmaied by ſo manie rufull preſidents of their neighbours miſerie and Aluas tyrannies, thus the citie continued all his regiment.

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The third chapter of the *afuera vellacos of Antwerpe by the Spa-*niſh ſouldiours for vvant of paie, after the *duke of Aluas departure, vnder the go-*uernement of *Don Loys* of *Requeſens*, great Commendador of *Caſtill.*

WHen the king was giuen to vnder-ſtand from ſundrie princes of Aluas tyrannies, and this poore countrie had often complained to his highneſſe of hir wofull miſeries, when he ſawe his men and monie waſted, and his intented pur-poſe nothing furthered, when in ſtéd of his kinglie authoritie, the which he then affected, he put in ha-zard the loſſe of all authoritie in that countrie, when he feared leaſt other princes whoſe requeſts he de-ſpiſed, would leauie their forces to the releéſe of this people, when all Chriſtendome pitied their ſo la-mentable tragedies, and began to abhorre the inſo-lencies of the Spaniſh nation, then the king of po-licie rather than pittie, and of feare of his owne e-ſtate then of anie tender affection or fatherlie care towards them, recalled the duke of Alua, and ſent Requezenius a man of a more milde and mercifull nature in his roome.

And thus was not onelie Antwerpe, but the whole

whole countrie eaſed of this monſter, the which returned with greater ſhame then with pride hee came thither, leauing after the death of manie his ſouldiors, mountains of monie ſpent on the warres, the countrie whome he found wealthie and well inhabited, waſted and diſpeopled, whome he found quiet and in peace, in preparation for wars: whom he found fauourers of the Spaniſh nation, hating them as the verie plague of their countrie, and howbeit, he and few others, workers of theſe troubles, fatted themſelues with the ſpoiles of this people: yet the vnder captains and common ſouldiors were ſtill like Pharaos ſeauen leane kine, which had deuoured the ſeauen fat kine, and yet prowed no whit fatter themſelues.

But to ouer paſſe them, when Requizenius of the noble houſe of the Dukes of Cæſa, in the kingdome of Naples, great Commendador of Caſtill, was ſeated in his gouernement, and publiſhed in Antwerpe pardon of all faults that was paſt, requiring onelie the obſeruance of the Romaine faith, than this citie began to recomfort hir ſelfe, thinking that all the ſtormes of hir troubles were ouerpaſt. But ſee ẏ ſame yeare 1574. not few moneths after, there aroſe a great mutanie amongſt the Spaniſh ſouldiors for want of their paie after their victorious iourney from Mouike or Moquerhead, where Duke Chriſtopher of Bauier, ſonne of the Palfgraue Prince Elector, and the earles Lodowike and his brother Henrie of Naſſau, that came to ſuccour the Prince of Orenge their brother were ſlaine, wherwith the Spaniſhe ſouldiours waxing inſolent, fuming that their good ſeruice was no better recompenſed, being ſtill fed with promiſes, but yet pinched

ched with penurie, still hauing fiue & thirtie months paie behind, they marched incontinent towardes Antwerpe, vnder the conduct of Auila, to seize that Towne, and with the spoile therof to satisfie themselues, whereof the Lord Champigin than gouernor of Antwerpe for the king, being aduertised, gaue immediatlie the like intelligence to the said Commendador the kings lieutenant, then being at Brusels, certifieng him withall that the Almaines of the garrison in Antwerpe, were no better affected towards the citie for want of their paie, than were the Spaniards, and that the nauie that than floted in the hauen for the better guard and defence of the citie, gaue foorth some occasions of mistrust, the which feares did the rather increase, bicause the lord Commendador commanded to the furnishing of his maiesties nauie, all the ordinance of the citie, which the duke of Alua appointed for their defense, promising other from the castell, which he did not performe, so that now hauing the Spaniards marching to inuade them, the Almains their owne gard readie to forsake them, and the nauie and castell suspected to betraie them, the whole citie was left disfurnished, and had for their owne defense but a demie canon, and two peeces of Iron.

And as they feared, so it came to passe, for the said mutinous and rebellious Spaniards marched to Antwerpe notwithstanding, and entered the citie in most hostile manner by the gappe, where the towne wall was not ioined to the castell, euen vnder their nose, and therefore by the sufference of them within the castell, in the sight also of the great Commendador the kings generall, then being new come from Brusels to Antwerpe, who commanded

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the gouernour of the towne the Lord Champigni, (there readie with his regiment of Wallons to kæpe them out) to retire his forces, and so to giue a more easie entrance for these rakehels to possesse the citie, who were no sooner there footed, but they draue tumultuouslie the lord Champigni and his regiment foorth of the Towne, breaking vp some houses, and rifling other, amongst whome the lord Campignies house was one, vsing there such insolencies and extreame outrages, with such horrible criengs and shrækings, both by day and night, *à fuera vellacos*, come foorth you villaines, that the citie offered to redæme their quietnesse with a great summe of money, & yet that would not serue, but at euerie time that anie offer of paiment was made that they liked not, they eftsones armed themselues, and ran like a sort of Bedlams thorow all the stræts, breaking vp the doores, and crieng, *à fuera vellacos*, Come you out you villaines.

Amongst which rable of these disordered monsters, if anie of them were of more temperance thã the other (as there was none of good) they sought by all meanes to make him partaker of all their outragious attempts, and neuer left him, till he was as dæpe plunged in these villanies as themselues: and to the intent that one generall excuse might serue them all, and that these faults might not rest on few mens heads, the one thrust the other out of doores, excusing themselues, saieng: that they were thereunto enforced by their fellowes, and thus they vsed or rather abused the citizens of Antwerpe, by the space of fiue or six wækes, with all crueltie and warlike libertie, vntill they had wronge and extorted from them towards their paie, the summe of foure

foure hundred thousand crownes, with manie other marchandies giuen them at a price, and a farther promise by an appointed daie, sullie to satisfie them for the whole.

Thus was this towne deliuered from these bedlems at this time, howbeit they still liued in feare of new inuasions, the souldiours menacing their gouernour, that except within ten daies they had their paie, they would seeke else where to satisfie themselues, giuing foorth in speech, that the king gaue them the goods and liuelihoods of the people, in the middest of which feares, ỳ Prince of Orange by the consent of manie of the citizens, endeuoured to haue surprised the Towne, bringing in two thousand souldiors, but not able by sea because of contrarie winds, to send his other succours, the souldiors scattering themselues, were taken, and so was he defeated of his purpose.

The fourth chapter, deſcribing *the ſacking of Antwerpe and diuerſe* other good townes, by the Spa*niſh ſoldiers, for the like want of paie, after* the death of the ſaid *Lys* of *Requeſens*, during the gouernment of the kings councell of eſtate.

THeſe were great villanies, which this citie vnder the gouernement of the great Commendador of Caſtill endured, and yet but fleabitings compared vnto thoſe which after followed: for in the yeare 1576, at what time the councell of eſtate had by the waie of prouiſion, the whole gouernment committed vnto them till another were appointed. This worthie citie of Antwerpe receiued a farre worſe ſcourge, from and by meanes of the ſaid caſtell, for after that the king had recouered by long ſiege the Towne of Zuirecksee in Zeland. At what time the Lord of Requeſens gaue vp both life and office, the ſouldiors manie moneths receiuing no paie, tooke that as a warrant from the king to paie themſelues with the ſpoile of the countrie, yet they at the firſt, like men of good conſcience, thought to ſpare Antwerpe, and to ſurpriſe Bruſſels, for they preſumed to haue good butin therein, but the kings councell authoriſed by the ſupreame gouernment,

uernment, had taken such good order, that they had no hope of entrance there. Whereupon in marching farther, with great violence they assaulted and toke the kings good Towne of Alst, killing euerie man that did withstand their furie, making there such hauocke and spoile, and so seditiouslie vsing themselues, that by the kings counsell (whereof some were Spaniards) they were proclaimed rebels to the king, and enemies to the countrie, with license to euerie priuat man to kill them wheresoeuer they found them.

Furthermore the councell of estate, perceiuing that Sancis Dauila, capteine of the castell of Antwerpe, and his men had intelligence with the said rebels, caused all the old souldiors that laie in garrisons, either at Liere, Louaine, or Brussels to come togither, and sent the marquesse of Haurech, the countie Philip of Egmond, sonne vnto Amurathes, the lord of Capres, the lord of Guinen and Bercele, with the said old bands and other new forces, to the number of foure & twentie ensignes of footemen, and fouretæne Cornets of horsemen, to ioine with Theodorike Periot Lord Champneis than gouernour of Antwerpe, for defence of the citie.

When Auila saw such an extraordinarie power approching nære vnto him, and when he saw the citizens with broad and dæpe ditches to separate the towne from the castell, he sent for all the Spaniards dispersed in sundrie places of Brabãt, certifieng them both of the said armie, & farder how the stræts of the citie were chained, mounts raised, trenches cast vp against the castel, and no passage left vnstopped from the castell to the citie, exhorting them therby to consider what imminent daunger and perill hanged ouer all the Spanish nation, & would sure-

lie fall vpon them, if they did not in time warely preuent it for (as he ſaid) we which before were but meſpriſed as ſtraungers, are now hated as enimies, we that before were infamed with ſlaunderous libels, are now proclaimed for open rebels. Otherwiſe to what end do their late deſſenies of numbring all the Spaniards within Netherland or the proclamation of rebellion publiſhed at Bruſſels againſt vs, or the ſuddaine beſieging of our countrie gariſon in Gaunt caſtell, or the great forces brought now into and before Antwerpe tend vnto and purport, but a deadly enmitie of our Spaniſh nation, enuie of our victories, and a generall maſſacre of all our perſons, in which malice ſo cankered, ſo generall, ſo by publike authoritie armed and emboldned, and with one conſent in hoſtill manner furdered by them all, it were an eaſie matter to ſubdue greater forces than we now haue, eſpeciallie being as we are diſperſed, wherefore my countriemen and fellow ſouldiors, ſeing our ſtate is ſo dangerous and euen now tottering if you vphold not, let me intreate you that whiche maketh for your ſafetie more than mine, to conioyne your forces to haſten hither, as to your laſt refuge and anchor hold the caſtell of Antwerpe, where you ſhall haue victuals to ſuſteine you, munition to defend you, and reſolute men either to conquere or be conquered with you, and thus concluding his letter, he gaue this for their watch word *Tardanza peligroza*, procraſtination is perillous.

With which incouragemēt of Daula, the Spaniards thoroughly inflamed, being before on fire with deſire of reuenge, and the ſacke of ſo rich and wealthie a citie, they came forth of all quarters from

Liere,

Liere, from Alst, from Mastricth, togither with Polwelers band of Almaines and flocked to Antwerpe, whereof some marched all night, and comming in with all spæde slæpie and wearie by the gate of the castell, the said Auila and Alonza de vergas Colonell of one thousand horssemen, & diuerse other wise and expert capteins, besought them to refresh themselues with taking some small repast & rest, before they should incounter with the enimie in this sharp and desperate fight, but they were swome one to the other, that they would neither slæpe one winke, nor eat one bit, vntill they had expulsed all the contrarie forces & become conquerours ouer the whole citie, and as though they had the victorie alreadie in their hands, they carried on their helmets in signe of triumph garlands of baies, and other græne floures and boughes, and which did most apall and terrifie the citizens, euerie souldior brought with him a desperate lackie that caried bundels of straw and drie sticks and plentie of fire, that whiles they fought the boies mought set the houses in sundrie parts of the towne in a light fire.

And although there were fiue thousands of choise souldiors within the citie, besides the power and strength of the citizens, yet the Spaniards came in such a violent maner discharging such a furious volle of shot vpon them, that the townesmen and souldiors were driuen from their trenches before they were fullie finished, and the Spaniards being assured of foure ensignes of Almaines and their capteine Cornelius Vaneind within the citie to hold most traiterouslie with them, entred the stræts, fired the citie, and made such hideous shouts, & slaughter of those that stood against them, that there grew

ſuch a ſudden feare and miſtruſt of one ſouldior a-gainſt an other, and againe betwirt the citizens and the ſouldiors, that the Spaniards vpon the ſuddaine within the ſpace of eight houres ouer ranne all, put-ting to the ſword aboue fyre thouſand perſons.

Than flamed with fire the princelie townehouſe all of white marble wrought with the excellent ar-chitecture of Vitruuius, on the building of whiche was ſpent an hundred thouſand pounds Engliſh. Than were burnt vp all the roiall and ſumptuous buildings of the Guilds about the market place, and eight hundred houſes of the citizens with all their goods and merchandizes, the value whereof amoun-ted beſides their great and ſumptuous houſehold ſtuffe to three millions of gold.

Than were their daughters rauiſhed, women abuſed, and of all ſortes, ſome aſwell women as men, and they of the beſt calling put to ſtraunge, beaſtly and horrible torments, what ſoeuer monie they had or goods, that was made a praie to the ſoul-dior and a reward to their enimie.

Thus were they butchered and ſpoiled, and thus was that Noble citie the verie paragon and flower of all other the cheefe cities and townes in Europe cruellie ſacked, in which laie the greateſt part of the treaſures and riches of the lowe countrie, beſides the inestimable treaſure that the Almaines, Eng-liſh, French, Italian, Spaniſh, and Eaſterling mer-chants had there, in ſo much that the verie ſpoile there taken of gold and ſiluer in readie coine, was e-ſteemed at twentie hundred thouſand pounds, and their iewels, plate, and merchant wares togither, with the damage the fire there wrought, was va-lued at aſmuch more.

And

And whereas many ran from the citie to the new towne, thinking so to escape the Spanish furie, they were all surprised by the hostesnen. Onelie the Marquis of Haurech & Champney, that got awaie at the first shipping, sailed safelie with their comp-nie into Zeland, but the countie of Ouersteine pas so manie leaping into his vessell, that he and all therein were drowned, so were (which was a thing very lamentable to heare and most horrible for any to commit) seauen thousands besides of citizens and souldiors drowned at that time, and manie other togither with the countie Egmond and the Lord of Gunny taken.

This most barbarouse fact was done by mutined souldiors, proclaimed traitors, and ranke rebels, and was neuer openlie allowed by the king nor his Counsell, but at the first comming of Don Iohn the kings base brother, it was especiallie enacted and commaunded by a perpetuall edict of the king that they should be punished.

The

The fift chapter declaring the *inuasion of the French into* Antvverpe, and the valiant resistance *of the Citizens made against* the same.

After the warres commencing with Don Iohn, at whose appointment the castell of Antwerpe was than guarded with a garrison of Wallons, the citizens fearing not without cause, false measures, and the like sacking of their towne, which before they had suffered, partlie by corrupting some with monie, partlie by sowing discord and discention among the souldiors, recouered againe the said castell, and draue the garrison of Wallons cleane out of the towne.

And thus hauing gotten yet at length their long desired libertie, and beholding with great ioye the departure of the Spaniard (for all forren forces according to couenaunt with Don Iohn were to leaue their countrie) they razed the walles of the castell, by the which it was seuered from the towne, making the castell a part of the same.

After this they mustered their citizens, diuiding the best habled into eightie and eight companies or enslignes, vnder eightie and eight Capteines & eight Colonels, the which being trained vp in feates of armes,

armes, were to defend the citie without any forren souldior against all the inuasions of the enimie. And that now they mought be in nothing wanting to themselues, learning at length to be wise by their former harmes, they were in a very prudent manner most carefull for their watch, erecting there great watch houses for the Corps de gard, & also at the corner of euerie principall stræt a little watch house, verie faire of square stones, and painted for their standing watches by them called the Round.

In the which for the auoiding of tumult, and to preuent all occasions of treacherie, they kept their continuall watch in the night, and on the Sundaies in the seruice time, by reason whereof no man could passe the stræts, except the Magistrates, Colonels, and capteines, and such which had the watch word giuen them.

Thus by these good orders there was no hope left to any for any good successe in any treacherous practise, and on a sudden the whole citie was sone called to armes, euerie man knowing his office and place, yet behold for all their prudent cares, wisely consulted, and their mutuall helpe to eth other faithfullie performed, they that were most honored by them, were likelie most to haue harmed them, and when they were frée from all feare of the enimie, then were they put into a sudden and extreame danger by their frends, for at what time the horrible insolencie of the Spanish and Hispaniolized Wallons was such, that they were therefore proclaimed by the kings Councell enimies to his Maiestie, and the Common weale, when for the deliuerie of their countrie from their long endured tyrannies and oppression,

preſſion, Frauncis duke of Aniou the French kings onely brother, at the requeſt of the States and other their dære frænds, came in perſon with a roiall armie to take the protection of them and their countrie: he was there roiallie receiued with great and moſt ſumptuous triumphes by the citizens of Antwerpe, as it appertained to ſo great a prince, and there alſo inueſted duke of Lothier, Brabant, & Limburge, and Marquis of the holie Empire, which honorable and princelie intertainment beſtowed vpon him, he did right well requite, ruling with great temperance and mildneſſe, ſhewing himſelfe in martiall feates moſt forward and valerous, as by the taking of Alſt and Endouen, & raiſing the ſiege of Camray and Lochem, and other ſuch warlike exploits doth moſt euidently appeare.

But after all theſe glorious victories, and that he had nære by the ſpace of one whole yeare, inſinuated and melted himſelfe into the loue and harts of the people, with ſhewing all the fauours and endeuors and good parts of a moſt noble and worthie Prince: Certaine of his luſtie captaines but not of his beſt frænds, ceaſed not inceſſantly to inſtill into his eares, how baſe a thing it was, for his Highnes being ſonne, nephew, and brother to ſo many mightie kings, & heire apparãt to the crowne of Fraunce to be anie waies vnder the States direction, and thereupon perſwaded with him to ſæke for a more high and abſolute gouernement, the which that he might the better compaſſe & bring about, they gaue him farder counſell to ſettle in as many townes, as he could his French garriſons: the which they ſaid without any empeachment of his honour he mought well do, bicauſe that the two frontier

townes

townes Quesnoy and Launderſey, which the ſtates had long before promiſed his highnes for his better aſſurance, and the ſafetie of his people, were not yet according to couenants deliuered, the inhabitants of them vtterlie refuſing to receiue amongſt them any French garriſon. Wherevpon the ſaid moſt courteous Prince, being ouer ruled by a more youthfull than conſiderate counſell, and hauing Marſhall Byron come out of Fraunce, with a good number of Frenchmen and Switcers, at that preſent, gaue aſſent that his Frenchmen ſhould make themſelues maſters in ſo manie townes as they could, in ſo much that at one time they ſeized vpon Dunkirke, Berges, S. Winock, Dixmud, Duremond and Viluord, and failed but verie little to haue ſurpriſed the noble citie of Bruges, and diuerſe other good towns all aſſaulted at one inſtant.

And hauing before this citie of Antwerpe his puiſſant armie, it was giuen out for colour, that the Duke was to take muſter of the ſame, and thereupon the ſeauentéenth of Januarie 1583, whiles the citizens were at dinner, ſauing ſome few that kept the watche, he iſſued forth in great pompe, accompanied with moſt of his Nobles (for whoſe highnes and his laid traine, two of the gates of the citie were opened, and the ſtreets vncheined. And when he came to the gate of S. James, where three hundred horſſemen vnder their garments ſecretlie armed, ranked themſelues on both ſides of the bridge, and expected his comming, but aſſoone as the Duke was paſt, and gaue a ſigne by ſhaking of his hat) they violentlie entered the towne with eightéene enſignes of footemen, poſſeſſed the gates and bulwarks, killed the watch, turned the great ordinance planted

on the wall againſt the towne, and ſpred themſelues into three ſtreets, euen to the middeſt of the citie, killing whome they found on the waie, and crieng, *Ville gainee, viue la meſſe*, The towne is wone God preſerue the maſſe: Whereupon alarum was giuen, the ſtreets were cheined, and the citizens leauing their dinners, ſome armed, ſome with their ſwordes, and other ſome with their Arquibuzes, iſſued foorth vpon them in ſmall numbers at the firſt, and diſordered for haſte, yet ſo luſtelie and with ſo hotte and violent a courage, that they draue the enimie backe, and put him to the woorſt. Thus this fight continued hotte eſpeciallie about the gates, and the places where the ſtreets were cheined, the ſouldiors without deſirous to enter in, and the citizens more readie to keepe them out, that the verie gates were ſtopped & rampard vp with dead carcaſes, whereby they killed and tooke priſoners all, but thoſe that leaped with their great horſſes deſperatlie ouer the walles, where they and their horſſes periſhed togither, and this was donne in leſſe ſpace than an houre.

In which time there were ſlaine of the French two hundred horſſemen, and twelue hundred footemen, as they were told at their buriall, amongſt whome there were fiftie Nobles and gentlemen of great accompt, and more than two thouſand taken priſoners, amongſt whome were the earle of Fernacques, the biſhop of Conſtance, and manie other notable perſonages, and amongſt the dead were the countie of S. Agnian, and the countie of Chaſtereſſe his ſonne, and the ſonne of the ſaid Biron, marſhall of France, and the Lord of Sarſenall, gouernour of Viluord, the ſonne of Murambeau & manie others,

all

all slaine within the citie, besides a great number that were slaine by the great ordinance without. This scourge this citie escaped, and so did the prince of Orange, (which with diuerse other of the religion happilie refused to go forth with the said duke of Aniou) and if they had, God knoweth what had then betide them.

Of this wofull spectacle, the Prince Dolphin and the countée Leuale, being with the Duke, were lokers on. And although they made intercession for the liues of sundrie their frends, yet were they not without feare of themselues.

After this tragicall pageant, the duke with his companie was compelled for want of victuals & other necessaries, to retire with his armie towards Mechlin, from whence his highnesse passing manie great waters, did not without great difficultie and losse of manie of his people, get at the last to Denremond, where in fine he agreed with the states to restore againe all the Townes by him surprised, which was an euident argument of his owne good nature and honourable meaning towards the countrie, and that he was by the sinister persuasion of his ambitious capteines, and flattering frends, therein much abused, for it is certeine that he said at that time to his horsemen and footmen. *Marches, marches la ville est gainee ne pilles point*, that is: March on, march on, the towne is woone, spoile not.

From Denremond he retired his armie to Dunkirk, at what time, the towne of Endouen before by him taken, and then narrowlie besieged by the enimie for want of succour was lost, and whiles he lay at Dunkirk, where the plague was very rife, hee made request to the Bourgmaster and Citizens of

Bridges to be receiued into the citie, but they remẽbring what part he and his French armie had plaid at Antwerpe, gaue him a flat deniall.

Thus yet againe was Antwerpe through Gods especiall goodnesse deliuered, the which benefit how they esteeme, this maie be a proofe that the citizens of Antwerpe the seuentéenth of Ianuarie last past, had a generall procession and solemne thanksgiuing for the expulsing of the duke of Alencon and the French Nobilitie, in the yeare 1583, when they came in armes and banners displaid to inuade the citie.

The

The sixt chapter conteining the *long and tedious siege of* Alexander Farnese Prince of *Parma*, laid to *the Citie of* Antvverpe, *and the* yeelding thereof at the last *by famine.*

THus this most famous citie of Antwerpe, hauing by the space of xviij. yeares suffred so manie troubles and calamities, the barbarous bondage of the forren souldior, the treacherous dealing of so euill a maister, the castell, the sacking of the Spaniard, the inuasion of the French, the vnfaithfulnesse of the Almaine, was yet againe besieged by Alexander Farnese Prince of Parma, in the beginning of which siege the citie lost Biretũ (which is within three English miles of Antwerpe) by reason whereof the Prince did much annoy the ships that past on the Scheld, and shortly after was murdered the father of the countrie the good Prince of Orange, which how dere he was vnto them, and how heauily they did take his death, both their solemne praiers for his former deliuerance, and the common voice of the people by whom he was commonlie called father William, aboundantlie doth shewe.

After

After whoſe death the Prince of Parma ſetting fiue hundred labourers and one hundred carpenters on worke, whome on land by his armie, on ſea by his nauie he defended from the enimie, in a ſhort time he piled and chaked the riuer with one and twentie armed ſhips, euerie of which laie at foure ſeuerall anchors of egall diſtance one from an other ouer the which he had made a bridge, defended with an hundred and fiftie peeces of artillerie, with fiftie and ſeuen ſhips of war, and manie ſtrong bulwarks both on Flaunders and Brabant ſide, hauing herein moſt proſperous ſucceſſe, in that by the ſpace almoſt of a whole ſummer, there were no great blaſts of anie Northerlie windes, by whiche the Zelanders, in whome there wanted neither good will nor readineſſe, in a luſtie gale, and full ſaile, might haue come with their nauie, broken and ouer ſailed the bridge, and victualed the towne.

But after all valiant defenſes, ſubtile inuentions, and warlike ſtratagems vſed, and that their bread (wich is the chiefeſt ſuſtenance for man) was cleane ſpent, though to ſome good purpoſe kept ſecret by the gouernour, and many for want of foode were readie to periſh, when the people grew to outrage and wared tumultuous in the citie, although before they had made an Edict, that on the forfeit of their goods there ſhould be no ſpeach moued by any of peace, although they were ſworne to followe the direction of the States, and to withſtand all proceedings of the king: yet now ſeeing the vnrulineſſe of the people and the penurie of victuall likelie to inſue, the Rulers were inforced vpon a neceſſarie agreement, to yeld the ſaid towne to the Prince of

Parma,

Parma, in which they couenanted vpon their charge to build vp both the Churches and Castell, and to paie for their ransome foure hundred thousand Florins, by the which also they that would, might issue forth with their goods, wiues, and children, whereby it came to passe that one third part of the citizens departed the towne, leauing the rest to abide suche fortune as the victorious enimie should lay vpon them. Since the which yelding and deliuerie of the Citie, the traffique of merchandize is cleane gone and expulsed, the citie of the better and welthier sort abandoned, verie well nigh by the one halfe of the citizens and inhabitantes dispeopled.

Since which time the citadell is againe erected, and againe manned with a new supplie of no lesse néedie than cruell souldiors. Since which time the ordinaunce of the castell is bent against the citie, and the citizens in great feare of their wonted harmes, since which time there hath béene extréme dearth of all things, and scarsitie of corne, wheat bearing price aboue seuen pounds and ten shillings sterling the quarter, and mutton thrée shillings and foure pence the pound. Since which time there hath béene great exactions and manie subsidies by the Prince imposed, howbeit therewith in outward shew he would séeme to be displeased, since which time sundrie complaine that couenants are not kept and that there goods are confiscate contrarie to the second, third, fourth, and fift articles of their agrément, since besides all these dreadfull terrors within, they haue of their old frends their new enimies, making daily incursions before their gates, and seising many of their ships as they ride in their ha-

uen, ſo that now in the penurie of victuall, without anie true friende, in great feares, and helpleſſe exactions, this citie rather like a towne of fiſher men than merchants, lingereth in diſpaire, and continueth little better than beſieged ſtill.

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